

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8601

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 15826

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ENRG, PFOR, JA, XF
SUBJ: DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER MIKI'S TRIP TO MIDDLE EAST

1. FOLLOWING UP ON MY REQUEST TO BE INFORMED OF WHAT INSTRUCTIONS DEPUTY PRIMIN MIKI WILL TAKE WITH HIM ON HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST (REFTEL PARA 1), FOREIGN OFFICE AMERICAN AFFAURS BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL OKAWARA ASKED ME TO CALL ON DECEMBER 6 FOR A BRIEFING ON THIS SUBJECT. BEFORE GETTING INTO SUBSTANCE, OKAWARA CONFIRMED THAT MIKI WILL DEPART TOKYO DECEMBER 10, WILL VISIT SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT, KUWAIT, ABU DHABI, SYRIA, IRAQ (PRESUMABLY IN THAT ORDER) AND POSSIBLY QATAR, RETURNING TO TOKYO ON DECEMBER 29. OTHER MEMBERS OF MIKI'S MISSION INCLUDE DEPUTY VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TOGO AS PRINCIPAL ADVISOR, ECONOMIST SABURO OKITA AND POLITICAL COMMENTATOR KAZUSHIGE HIRASAWA AS ADVISORS; OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MISSION INCLUDE PARLIAMENTARY VICE MINISTER YAMADA, NAOHIRO AMAYA (DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY DEPARTMENT, INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY BUREAU, MILI), AND TERUHIKO NAKAMURA (DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU, FOREIGN OFFICE).

2. TRANSLATING FROM JAPANESE TEXT OF TALKING PAPER EVIDENTLY PREPARED FOR MIKI'S GUIDANCE, OKAWARA SAID THAT MIKI WILL EXPLAIN GOJ POSITION ON MIDDLE EAST ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A. FROM BASIC STANDPOINT OF SUPPORT FOR ROLE OF AND COOPERATION WITH UN, GOJ HAS SUPPORTED POSITION OF ARAB GOVTS
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IN ORDER TO REALIZE JUST AND LASTING PEACE THROUGH FULL AND EXPEDITIOUS IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

B. IT WAS REGRETTABLE THAT IN SPITE OF STRONG DESIRE

FOR REALIZATION OF PEACE ON THE PART OF MANY COUNTRIES, INCLUDING JAPAN, A SETTLEMENT OF MIDDLE EAST DISPUTE WAS NOT ACHIEVED AND ARMED CONFLICT AGAIN BROKE OUT. HOWEVER, GOJ WELCOMES SCHEDULING OF A PEACE CONFERENCE AND EXPECTS THAT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE WILL BE REALIZED THROUGH THAT CONFERENCE.

C. GOJ CONSIDERED THAT IT WOULD BE MEANINGFUL IN PROMOTING PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST FOR IT TO "CLARIFY ITS THINKING FURTHER" ON SITUATION AND HAS ANNOUNCED FOUR PRINCIPLES (NOVEMBER 22 STATEMENT PARA 2) WHICH IT CONSIDERS SHOULD BE OBSERVED IN REACHING SETTLEMENT OF MIDDLE EAST DISPUTE. THIS STATEMENT IS "MORE ON SIDE OF ARAB POSITION" THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER SO-CALLED ADVANCED NATION. OUT OF A DESIRE FOR WORLD STABILITY AND PROSPERITY THROUGH REALIZATION OF JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST, GOJ TOOK A "STERN" (KIBISHII) POSITION TOWARD ISREAL IN SPITE OF VARIOUS "CONSTRAINTS" (SEIYAKU) PLACED ON JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

D. WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINIAN QUESTION, GOJ HAS TAKEN "MORE UNDERSTANDING POSITION" THAN ANY WESTERN NATION. GOJ RECALLS THAT JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT TIME KING FAISAL VISITED JAPAN INCORPORATED AGREEMENT CONCERNING RESPECT FOR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS AND THAT OVER THE YEARS, GOJ HAS SUPPORTED UN RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS. SETTLEMENT OF PALESTINIAN QUESTION HOWEVER INVOLVES MANY DIFFICULT ISSUES AND CANNOT BE ACHIEVED QUICKLY. GOJ ALSO BELIEVES IT NECESSARY THAT ALL NATIONS RECOGNIZE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN CHARTER. IT IS NECESSARY THAT ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED MAKE EFFORT TO IMPROVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF PALESTINIANS. IN THIS CONNECTION, GOJ INTENDS TO MAKE POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SETTLEMENT OF THIS PROBLEM.

3. OKAWARA STATED THAT IF QUESTIONED CONCERNING "RECONSIDERATION" CLAUSE OF GOJ NOVEMBER 22 STATEMENT, MIKI WILL REPLY ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: IF IN FUTURE SITUATION IN MIDDLE SECRET

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EAST DOES NOT DEVELOP IN A WAY WHICH HOLD OUT CLEAR PERSPECTIVE FOR FRUITFUL OUTCOME OF MANY EFFORTS MADE TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE, THE DETERMINATION OF WHAT DIPLOMATIC MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN BY JAPAN AT WHAT JUNCTURE IN THE EXPECTATION OF REALIZING THE FOUR PRINCIPLES WHICH GOJ BELIEVES SHOULD BE RESPECTED AND HONORED IS A MATTER TO BE JUDGED AND DECIDED BY JAPAN ON ITS OWN RESPONSIBILITY. AFTER READING THIS STATEMENT, OKAWARA EMPHASIZED THAT MIKI WILL MAKE NO COMMITMENTS AS TO ANY FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION BY GOJ.

4. OKAWARA SAID THAT MIKI WILL BE PREPARED TO TALKS ABOUT ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH ARAB COUNTRIES.

HE VOLUNTEERED NO DETAILS, BUT PRESUMABLY THIS WOULD BE ALONG LINES REPORTED IN TOKYO'S 15269 AND 15525. HE ALSO STATED THAT "IF OTHER SIDE RAISES OR SHOULD MIKI THINK IT NECESSARY TO RAISE" QUESTION OF OIL SUPPLY, MIKI WILL EXPLAIN THAT ECONOMIES AND NATIONAL LIVELIHOOD OF MANY ASIAN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY Affected BY OIL EXPORT CONTROL MEASURES "IN SPITE OF UNDERSTANDING BEING SHOWN FOR POSITION OF ARAB COUNTRIES." MIKI ALSO WILL EXPLAIN SERIOUS IMPACT ON ECONOMY OF JAPAN WHICH RELIES HEAVILY ON OIL FROM ARAB COUNTRIES. OKAWARA STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT MIKI IS DETERMINED NOT TO BE DRAWN INTO "SHORT-TERM" PROBLEM OF OIL SUPPLY BUT TO FOCUS ON QUESTION OF LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND ARAB COUNTRIES AND ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST RATHER THAN "BEGGING FOR OIL."

5. OKAWARA THEN EMPHASIZED GOJ CONCERN THAT MIKI'S DISCUSSIONS WITH ARAB REPRESENTATIVES IN NO WAY INTERFERE WITH SECRETARY'S EFFORTS TO BRING PARTIES CONCERNED TO NEGOTIATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF LASTING SETTLEMENT. HE MADE CLEAR THAT MIKI DOES NOT INTEND TO BE DRAWN INTO A DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS ISSUES LIKELY TO EMERGE IN COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS OR TO TAKE ANY POSITIONS BEYOND THOSE SET FORTH IN GOJ'S NOVEMBER 22 STATEMENT. GOJ FEELS, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE USG VIEWS ON FOLLOWING POINTS ON STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS AND AS BACKGROUND FOR MIKI'S MISSION:

A. ALTHOUGH GOJ TOOK POSITION IN ITS NOVEMBER 22

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STATEMENT THAT ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED DURING 1967 WAR, IT APPRECIATES FACT THAT THIS LIKELY TO BE PROTRACTED PROCESS EVEN IF AGREED UPON. POSSIBILITY HAS OCCURRED TO GOJ, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN IF AGREEMENT REACHED ON THIS POINT AS RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS, ARAB SIDE MAY URGE THAT AT EARLY STAGE IN COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS ISRAEL UNDERTAKE SOME LIMITED WITHDRAWAL AS "TOKEN OF ITS SINCERITY." QUESTION: WHAT WOULD USG POSITION BE IF ARABS SHOULD PRESS THIS POINT?

B. WHAT IS PRESENT USG THINKING ON SAUDI ARABIAN
DEMAND THAT OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM BE RESTORED TO
ARAB CONTROL?

C. UN RESOLUTIONS HAVE ENDORSED "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS
OF PALESTINE." GOJ ASSUMES USG ACCEPTS THIS POSITION.

D. GOJ FEELS THAT ANY GUARANTEE OF BOUNDARIES
AGREED UPON MUST APPLY TO BOTH SIDES, I.E. GUARANTEE
SECURITY OF ISRAELI BORDERS AGAINST ARAB ATTACK AND
ARAB BORDERS AGAINST ISRAELI ATTACK. QUESTION: WHAT IS
USG POSITION ON THIS POINT?

6. I AGREED TO CONVEY THESE QUERIES TO WASHINGTON. I OFFERED
PERSONAL VIEW HOWEVER THAT WITH RESPECT TO SUCH QUESTIONS
AS INDICATED IN A AND B, USG VIEW IS THAT THESE ARE
MATTERS TO BE WORKED OUT IN NEGOTIATING
PROCESS AND THAT NO USEFUL PURPOSE IS SERVED BY ATTEMPT-

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ING TO PREJUDGE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE PARTIES
INVOLVED HAVE THOROUGHLY EXPLORED REALISTIC POSSIBILITIES.
RE POINT C, I REMARKED THAT EVEN IF ONE ENDORSED IN
PRINCIPLE "THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS" THE
PRACTICAL PROBLEMS REMAINED OF THE DEFINITION OF THOSE
RIGHTS AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY COULD BE SECURED,
AND AGAIN THESE ARE MATTERS WHICH CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED
THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. AS TO POINT D, THIS SEEMED TO ME
TO BE AN OBVIOUS PROPOSITION.

7. AT THE CONCLUSION OF OUR CONVERSATION, OKAWARA
STATED THAT THE POSITION PAPER WHICH HAD BEEN PREPARED
FOR MIKI WILL BE FORMALLY APPROVED BY THE CABINET ON
DECEMBER 7, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SOME MINOR CHANGES
HE DID NOT EXPECT THAT THE "BASIC LINE" WOULD BE ALTERED.
COMMENT: GOJ DECISION TO UNDERTAKE THIS MISSION PROBABLY
HAS BEEN PROMPTED MORE BY DOMESTIC POLITICAL TACTICAL
CONSIDERATIONS THAN ANY HOPE OF ACHIEVING A SUBSTANTIAL
CHANGE IN THE ARAB ATTITUDES TOWARD JAPAN. FACT THAT
MIKI MISSION WILL BE IN MIDDLE EAST DURING REMAINDER
OF CURRENT EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF DIET MAY ASSIST
GOVERNMENT IN FENDING OFF OPPOSITION ATTACKS ON ITS
MIDDLE EAST POLICIES. I ALSO FEEL THAT GOJ IS
APPROACHING THIS UNDERTAKING WITH CONSIDERABLE CAUTION,
A CAUTION LIKELY TO BE REINFORCED BY MIKI'S OWN
PERSONALITY AND CONCERN FOR HIS POLITICAL POSITION,
AND THAT MIKI WILL RESIST ANY EFFORT HE MAY ENCOUNTER
TO MOVE GOJ BEYOND POSITION OUTLINED IN ITS NOVEMBER
22 STATEMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, FROM STANDPOINT
OF OUR STRATEGY, MIKI WILL HAVE TO RECONFIRM THAT
POSITION.

9. THE SEVERAL BRIEFINGS OKAWARA HAS GIVEN ME ON GOJ PREPARATIONS FOR MIKI MISSION AND MIKI'S OWN CALL ON ME DECEMBER 6 (REPORTED SEPTEL) EVIDENCE A DESIRE TO KEEP US FULLY INFORMED ON GOJ MOVES, AND, INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF IMPERATIVES OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION, TO AVOID INTERFERING WITH OR COMPLICATING US EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT. WHATEVER RESPONSE WE MAY GIVE TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS RAISED BY GOJ (PARA 5 ABOVE), I HOPE THAT WE CAN SHARE WITH GOJ, IF ONLY TO A
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LIMITED EXTENT, OUR ASSESSMENT OF OUTLOOK FOR GETTING NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY AND PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME. I AM ALSO REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT GOJ WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO ANY SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS WE MAY HAVE AS TO HOW MIKI MISSION MIGHT REINFORCE OR COMPLEMENT OUR OWN EFFORTS.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ASAP CONCERNING RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS RAISED PARA 5 ABOVE AND ANY OTHER POINTS I MIGHT USEFULLY MAKE TO GOJ PRIOR TO MIKI'S DEPARTURE DECEMBER 10. SHOESMITH

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